Workers of the World, Unite !

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THE CRISIS OF WORLD STALINISM

By Michel Pablo

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Stop Delay on Yugoslavia Loan, SWP Tells Truman

NEW YORK, June 1 — Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, today protested to President Truman against the administration's delay in granting the promised U. S. loans to Yugoslavia. In a letter to the White House, Dobbs contrasted this delay with the lavish and speedy aid given to the most reactionary governments in Europe and Asia. Calling for immediate clearance of the Yugoslav loans, Dobbs declared further delay could only mean that the Truman administration was determined to put a squeeze on Yugoslavia in order to extort political concessions.

Full text of Dobbs' letter follows:

The delay in giving Yugoslavia the long promised loans, in particular the $25 million loan promised months ago by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, is verging on the scandalous. Why are these loans being held up?

There have been repeated reports that your administration is bent on wresting concessions from the Yugoslav government and has for this reason attached political strings to the promised loans. The continued denial to Yugoslavia of the loans promised would constitute clear evidence that your administration is employing economic measures to club other countries into political submission.

Discussing the delay of the Yugoslav loans, the well-known Washington columnist Robert S. Allen disclosed on May 18 that certain "international bankers" are "demanding settlements on musty deals" negotiated by prewar Yugoslav monarchs, "some dating back to early 1900, before the World Bank grants Yugoslavia a $25,000,000 loan." And according to Mr. Allen, the World Bank has "strongly suggested" that the Yugoslav government come to terms with these bankers — otherwise, there will be no loan. There has been no public denial of Mr. Allen's disclosures.

CONTRAST TO INDO-CHINA

There is good reason to believe that these ancient loans are now being used as a pretext to squeeze political concessions out of the Yugoslav government.

In crying contrast to these attempts to take advantage of the plight of Yugoslavia, a country that was among the hardest hit during the last war, is the indecent haste with which your administration has come to the aid, for example, of such enslavers of colonial peoples as the French militarists and imperialists.

Secretary of State Acheson has already publicly pledged sums, many times in excess of all the projected Yugoslav loans, to assist the French in their war of enslavement of the Indo-Chinese people and in support of the French puppet, the former Emperor Bao Dai. Only the other day, the papers reported that this "aid" is to be rushed posthaste, and that Congress will be asked to appropriate additional huge sums for the same purpose.

FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION

Ironically enough, not a penny of these and other similar foreign grants and loans too numerous to list will ever be repaid. The mass of our people will be taxed to pay for all this "aid." The Yugoslavs, on the contrary, have pledged to pay back in full each and every loan they get for the purpose of building up industry, agriculture and transportation in their country.

Not only should the loans to Yugoslavia be cleared immediately and additional ones granted, but the American people should be also told why these particular loans are being held up, while the most reactionary governments continue to receive U. S. loans and grants so huge as to make the amounts promised to Yugoslavia appear insignificant.

In the name of the Socialist Workers Party, I strongly protest against any further delays in the extension of these and other loans to Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav people are entitled to the loans they have been promised. The American people are entitled to know the truth about the delay. Your administration owes them both an explanation and immediate action.

Pigeonholed

Big Minority Opposes GM 5-Year Pact

Reuther Puts Contract Over With Threat of Long Strike

DETROIT, May 28 — A two day UAW conference of GM local delegates held here May 25-26 voted reluctantly to ratify the five year no-strike contract between the union and General Motors Corporation.

To the bitter end the progressive opposition rallied a fourth of the delegates to vote against the worst contract ever signed in the auto industry.

The ratification of the five-year contract by the locals, which now seems a foregone conclusion, will make a total of 15 years that GM workers will have gone without a single major contract improvement.

The biggest bone that stuck in the delegates' throats was the five year clause. Around this point the left wing, led by Kenny Forbes of Saginaw and the delegations from Chevrolet Flint and Fisher One, appeared at one point to have won the support of a majority of the delegates.

The international officers threatened, wheedled and finally browbeat a majority for acceptance of the contract as a whole. It was Vice-President John W. Livingston who warned that rejection of the five year clause meant rejection of the contract — and that would mean the locals would have to proceed to take a strike vote.

WALTER REUTHER

Reuther's fiasco at bargaining with Ford and Chrysler had so thoroughly destroyed the delegates' faith in the leadership's ability to obtain any improvements that many of them could not see voting down the contract even though they were opposed to the five year clause.

VIEWED AS LESSER EVIL

A large number of delegates felt that the five year contract, even with its faults, was a better alternative than the shambles of Reuther's strike policy in Chrysler. Some of them began to have their eyes opened on the heavy price the union is being forced to pay for Reuther's one-at-a-time strike policy.

Several delegates pointed out that this five year clause shut the door on the fight for the six hour day at eight hours' pay at a time when unemployment is critical and getting worse.

While there are no major changes for the better in the new contract, there are several that place the union in a compromising position. In return for four cents an hour for technological improvements each year, the union gives the company the green light to further undermine working conditions and to intensify the speed-up. The contract states:

OMINOUS CLAUSE

"The annual improvement factor provided herein recognizes that a continuing improvement in the standard of living of employees depends upon technological progress, better tools, better methods, processes and equipment, a **cooperative attitude on the part of all parties in such progress. It further recognizes the principle that to produce more with the same amount of human effort is a sound economic and social objective.**" (Our emphasis.)

Here is a model clause for tearing the guts out of any union. C. E. Wilson, president of GM, is quoted by columnist David Lawrence: "It is in those provisions governing productivity and efficiency that the real benefit comes. . . We want to be able to produce more with the same human energy."

GM plant managers and personnel directors are meeting this week to discuss the new contract. They will return with detailed blueprints for speedup with the union's consent. In Flint a number of plants already report that speed-up is in progress. This explains why the opposition at this conference was larger and more vocal than at any previous GM conference.

It is important to note that Reuther repeated to the delegates, three times at least, that he would authorize strikes against speed-up. But this sounded awfully hollow to Flint workers who

(Continued on page 2)

Murray Reaffirms CIO Support for James Kutcher

NEW YORK — Reaffirmation of CIO support for the campaign to win justice for James Kutcher was received this week from CIO and Steelworkers President Philip Murray, the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee announced.

Referring to earlier endorsement by the CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination, the letter from Murray said: "I am sure that Mr. Weaver, the Director of the Committee, will continue to lend the support of our organization in view of the important civil liberties issues involved."

Other union support received last week included contributions from the CIO Nassau-Suffolk Industrial Union Council; AFL Painters District Council No. 9; CIO Independent Laundry Drivers Local 324, Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union; and AFL Bakers Union Local 17.

All sent greetings for the souvenir journal being published by the New York chapter of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee on the occasion of a benefit dance and entertainment to be held June 16 at the Hotel Capitol, 51st St. and 8th Ave.

A generous contribution was also sent to the committee by AFL Painters Local 1011 after James Kutcher spoke at its meeting on the civil liberties issues involved in his removal from a clerical job with the Newark Veterans Administration solely because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

NOTED ENTERTAINERS

Among the featured entertainers at the June 16 affair will be diFalco, of the Exotic Ballet Company and the Department of Opera at Jacobs Pillow Theatre, who will appear in the dramatic Spanish and Hindu dances for which he is noted. DiFalco will perform both solo and with Leah Dillon, concert dancer of this city.

Joanne Jordan, song-stylist from Chicago, will provide her unique treatment of popular numbers, and dance music by the Wilbur deParis Orchestra will feature Sidney deParis on the trumpet.

Lee, Remington Fired to Appease Witch-Hunters

Truman's Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer has demanded the resignation of two Department of Commerce employees, William W. Remington and Michael Lee, who are being harried by the McCarthyite witch-hunters, although both were previously acquitted of "disloyalty" charges by the government's top Loyalty Review Board.

A Commerce Department announcement on May 27 said that Sawyer's action was not intended "to reflect in any way on the loyalty of either" but was "taken in the interest of good administration in the department." The announcement warned if the two did not resign, "administrative proceedings will be begun looking toward their separation from the department's service." Both have refused to resign.

Sawyer did not have the elementary decency to wait until Lee and Remington had the chance to defend themselves before a scheduled hearing of the Commerce Department's own Loyalty Board. His move, it was revealed, was intended to forestall a threatened Congressional investigation of "communism" in the Commerce Department.

APPEASEMENT'S EFFECT

It has had the opposite effect. Sen. George W. Malone, Nevada Republican who began the attack on Lee, said that Sawyer's move only proved the need to probe "everyone connected with the case"—which would include Sawyer himself. Senator McCarthy, spearhead of the "communist" smear campaign against the Truman administration, renewed his attacks on the basis of Sawyer's own action in attempting to force Lee and Remington to resign while they are under "disloyalty" fire.

Truman himself launched the gigantic "loyalty" purge and smear system that McCarthy and the other Republicans are now using to such advantage against the Trumanites.

By tossing two sacrificial offerings to McCarthyism, Truman hoped to appease the Republicans and get them to quiet down their witch-hunt and smear attacks on the Democratic administration. But it has only whetted the appetites of the McCarthyites.

Both Lee and Remington had been dissected, microscoped, spectroscoped and put through the wringer by the FBI and "Loyalty" boards. Their cases show that no matter how "pure" a person is found, how often he is acquitted of "disloyalty" charges, that is no protection against the witch-hunters. The witch-hunt demands endless blood-sacrifices and grows more voracious with every innocent victim.

IUE-CIO GETS MAJORITY IN GENERAL ELECTRIC

The CIO International Union of Electrical Workers, dominated by the Murray-Carey machine, won a slight popular majority against the Stalinist-controlled United Electrical Workers in an NLRB election held May 25 at the General Electric corporation's plants.

As reported by the NLRB, the popular vote for the IUE-CIO was 47,486 to the UE's 35,763. The IUE received majorities in 49 units, covering 53,970 workers, but the UE will continue to bargain for 36,683 workers in 40 units, stated the NLRB regional office in Baltimore.

Previously, the IUE-CIO had failed to more than nose out the UE in the Westinghouse system, second in size only to GE in the industry. The IUE got a majority of only 27,281 votes in Westinghouse to UE's 22,817. Each won 20 plants, while run-offs are scheduled in four, including the huge East Pittsburgh plant with more than 13,000 employees. Only in the General Motors Electrical Division, with 30,000 workers, has the IUE won a decisive victory among the "Big Three" of the industry.

Both sides have put out obviously exaggerated claims about their strength as a result of the NLRB elections. James B. Carey, IUE president, claimed that his organization now represents 220,000 workers compared to 52,000 for the UE. The UE national organization director, James J. Matles, claimed that "with all major CIO raids completed, the UE stands as exclusive bargaining agent for a total of 456,000 employees in the industry."

BOTH CLAIMS FALSE

Carey's figures are false on the face of it, since the UE still represents numerous plants in addition to more than 52,000 workers in GE and Westinghouse alone. The important fact, moreover, is that UE retains a strong hold in the two biggest corporations in the industry.

Matles' claims for the UE are sheer fantasy. The UE had only 330,000 members according to its delegate representation at the last CIO convention. Moreover, the CIO has succeeded in capturing a majority in the three biggest sectors of the industry, as well as other large plants like Sperry Gyroscope in Long Island. The UE is now definitely in the minority, although it still represents a significant force in the industry.

From the standpoint of the CIO leadership's plan to completely wipe out UE in the important

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OLD PARTIES ARE STILL PASSING BUCK ON FEPC

By William E. Bohannan

Buck-passing maneuvers have continued without letup since May 19, when the U. S. Senate killed a closure motion that would have permitted it to take up the FEPC bill which both capitalist parties are pledged to adopt. The Democrats are blaming the Republicans and vice versa. But more and more people are beginning to realize that they cannot depend on either capitalist party to keep its word on FEPC.

The Democrats are in the worst spot so far because they produced only 19 votes for closure while the Republicans produced 33. "We believe the average voter views FEPC to date simply as 33 to 19 in favor of the Republicans," said acting NAACP secretary Roy Wilkins.

That is why the Democrats have scheduled another vote on the closure question before Congress adjourns. William M. Boyle, Democratic national chairman, meeting with Wilkins and some labor leaders last week, "expressed the conviction that the Democratic vote for closure would be increased on the second test."

In other words, the sole purpose of the second test is to make the Democratic record look a little better—which may help the Democrats in this year's election but won't mean anything so far as passing FEPC is concerned.

TRUMAN'S COMMITTEE

Three days after the Senate vote Truman hastened to release the report of his Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services in an obvious move to counteract the growing disappointment and bitterness among Negroes.

This committee was set up by Truman **two years ago, supposedly to abolish military Jim Crow.** Praising its work last week, he said "there will be, within the reasonably near future, equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services..."

It's hard to define what Truman means by "the reasonably near future." At the present rate of "change," it will take another hundred years before Jim Crow is abolished in the Army, for example. Even in the Navy, which is supposed to be the model of the committee, 57.4% of Negro personnel are still restricted to the messman's branch.

The point is that as commander-in-chief Truman has the power to abolish Jim Crow in the armed forces **tomorrow**, if he really wants to. His failure to do so cannot be blamed on the Dixiecrats, Republicans or anyone else but himself. And his failure to do so is not going to help get him and his party off the hot seat on the FEPC issue.

SLICK POLITICIAN

Much talk and little action—that's the Truman record on Negro rights. On May 25 he was asked at his press conference if he would be willing to accept "compromise" legislation for a "voluntary" FEPC bill, such as the Trumanites voted to adopt in the House recently. No, he wouldn't, Truman replied, stating that he still favors a bill with compulsory provisions.

Truman failed to add, however, as he had done in the Krock interview printed in the Feb. 15

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What GM Won in Long-Term Deal

By Joseph Keller

The capitalist press, government spokesmen and corporation officials have been unanimous in hailing the five-year, no-reopening contract signed by Walter Reuther, CIO United Auto Workers president, with General Motors, the world's largest and wealthiest industrial corporation. They have greeted this long-term contract as a decisive spur to a trend that has been developing in the unions since the end of the war.

More and more, the union officials are tying the workers to contracts that fix the terms and conditions of work for many years in advance and which cannot be changed. Shortly after the announcement of the GM contract, a four-year no-strike contract was concluded between officials of AFL Teamsters Local 807 and 1,800 trucking employers in New York City.

Why are the employers insisting that the unions sign contracts of long duration?

Big Business has found that it cannot break the unions by frontal attack. The unions fought back in the two greatest strike waves in U.S. history, during 1946 and 1949. The corporations are coming to the conclusion that they must use a different approach to gain their ends.

In the first place, they figure that if they can buy labor peace for a long period with a few meager concessions, they will be able to work out means of increasing output per man hour and reducing labor costs so that their profits will be greater than ever.

GM'S REWARDS

The June 2 **U.S. News and World Report** observes that "in seeking peace with labor for five years, General Motors expects that the rewards to be gained from stability will outweigh the costs of wage, pensions and welfare concessions. Management keeps the right to run its own shop, to put in new machinery, use new methods, reduce the labor force if necessary."

In short, GM figures it can speed up production to a point where the worker will be turning out goods worth far more than the additional four cents an hour he is getting. The company will even be able to lay off a large number of workers and still get the same or greater total production.

But there is another and equally important consideration. How will long-term no-strike contracts affect the militancy of the unions? For instance, what kind of union will the GM unit of the UAW be after half a decade of "peace"?

The May 27 **Business Week**, a leading mouthpiece of the corporations, tells what was uppermost in the minds of the GM officials in demanding a five-year contract. "GM has bought five years of comparative labor peace. **Its workers, with nothing to fight over for the next half decade save minor grievances, will almost forget they are union men.** By 1955, UAW's GM unit may no longer be a militant bargainer." (Original emphasis.)

There is the nub of the matter. GM calculates that five years of "peace" will soften up the union ranks. The more aggressive unionists will be gradually weeded out. Progressive lay-offs, made possible by increased productivity, will put fear into those who remain on the job.

At the end of five years and at no cost or risk, the company will be tremendously strengthened in relation to the union, which will have little will or fighting spirit left to defend itself or to battle for better conditions.

It is in this light, above all, that the workers must view long-term contracts. These are designed to keep the workers quiescent for a long time, break the "habit" of strikes, smother labor's militancy, make the ranks "almost forget they are union men."

BUREAUCRATS' AIMS

The union bureaucrats welcome long-term contracts because they believe this makes for "stable" unions—that is, unions where the officials are not under pressure to fight for better conditions. The top union leaders want to live in "peace and harmony" with the employers. Their hold on the unions is always weakened when the workers are in a struggle and demanding a fighting leadership. That is when opposition to the bureaucrats thrives.

The employers, however, don't lose sight of their anti-union objectives in making long-term contracts. They visualize the long-term contract not as a measure of "peace," but as preparation for war on labor under conditions that will be most favorable to the employers.

"Loyalty" Oaths for Night Club Set?

"Sherman Billingsley soon may be demanding loyalty oaths from his patrons, before allowing them entrance to his Stork Club: He's barred five prominent left-wingers, including a playwright, an artist and a mystery writer," reports N. Y. Post columnist Leonard Lyons.

The swank Stork Club is a favorite night spot resort of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

European Notebook

Berlin Ballad

By Ernest Germain

American, Russian and French movies, which led the world in movie making before the second world war, have since then suffered a decline as steady as it is understandable. But in recent years several European countries have enjoyed a renaissance of the cinema that has already produced some genuine masterpieces. Italian production should be listed in first place. In its movies blow the winds of great mass movements which have made Italy the principal revolutionary hearth of the postwar period in Western Europe. One can feel in them that love for man, his sorrows and his struggles without which no genuine art is possible today.

Ranking next is British production, with some noteworthy achievements to its credit. Modern society is less decayed in Great Britain than in the other Western European countries; that is why British movies can permit themselves the luxury of encasing the world in a light and traditional irony which does not seem either as cold or unfeeling as that in current French pictures. Finally, Germany has just announced a revival of its own cinematic art with a film that will not soon be forgotten: **Berlin Ballad.**

FIERCE SATIRE

Berlin Ballad is an adaptation of the old medieval play, **Everyman,** shown over the centuries in all European countries. The adventures of Everyman took place in a decaying feudal society, among pleasure-seeking monks, corrupt church hierarchs and newly rich merchants—all under the threat of a plague. Everyman has returned to earth five centuries later, and his adventures take place in the midst of the ruins of Berlin, among men and women who are victims of war and famine. **Berlin Ballad** is a social satire of such fierceness as only German misery could produce.

The film actually consists of a number of sketches which bring Mr. Everyman into contact with the main persons and the most striking aspects of German society today. Mr. Everyman is distinguished from his fellow citizens by his honesty—by his stupidity, some would say. He is determined to live only on the fruits of his labor as a worker, to eat only the rations to which his coupons entitle him.

All around him the black market, trading, speculation, petty theft and robbery are spreading and becoming universal; but Mr. Everyman wishes to remain honest. With the inevitable result: he falls sick of amnesia, like thousands of other victims of malnutrition and lack of vitamins. His visit to a doctor, himself afflicted with amnesia for the same reason, is an infinitely sad piece of burlesque, worthy of Chaplin at his best.

IN A CRAZY SOCIETY

It has so many remarkable scenes, so many truly fierce criticisms of the crazy society the German people live in today, that it would be necessary to list them all in order to convey the atmosphere with which **Berlin Ballad** is saturated. Mr. Everyman is a victim of the bureaucracy; in order to get a work permit, he has to possess a residence permit (an identity card); but in order to get a residence permit, he must first have a work permit; and for this he waits until his beard touches the ground. Mr. Everyman goes to a masquerade; he puts on someone else's mask and immediately has to pay the bill of the mask's owner for—as the proprietor tells him—"only the mask interests me, not what is underneath."

Mr. Everyman takes a walk on the ruined streets of Berlin; Prussian militarism is destroyed once and for all, say the conquerors. But the streets of all the occupied sectors continue tranquilly to bear the names of kings, emperors and military chiefs of yesteryear. An international conference is held. While Russians and Americans are arguing in a language incomprehensible to the spectator, one of the delegates falls peacefully asleep and his lighted cigar sets fire to a celluloid globe of the world off in a corner; the conference, incapable of extinguishing this little fire, takes to its heels and the flames spread everywhere... It is easy to recognize these as examples of the old expressionist and symbolist school of the German theater and movies of 20 years ago.

The high point in Berlin Ballad is Mr. Everyman's encounter in an obscure Berlin cafe with two sinister individuals, former commanders of Stuka squadrons. One of them has entered the American service, the other the Russian service, and they are discussing with an icy passion the fortunes of the coming war. "We will blow your cities off the map," says the first. "Before then we shall have destroyed all your industries," replies the second. While they are engaged in mentally massacring the majority of mankind, they treat each other cordially, offer each other drinks and smokes; and when poor Mr. Everyman feebly protests against their bellicose talk, they join in attacking him and give him a good beating.

To be sure, **Berlin Ballad** is not a socialist film. It effectively denounces all the faults of modern society, but it does not indicate any way out for the victims of this society. Mr. Everyman symbolizes the "honest citizen," the "common man" who tries to work out his salvation by himself in the midst of general chaos. **Class consciousness,** the understanding that none of the social evils can be cured except by the collective action of the whole working class, remains entirely alien to the spirit of the authors of this film. And not by accident.

If the mass of German workers is more conscious than any other working class of the bankruptcy of capitalism and of Stalinism, it is still paralyzed in its **socialist** action by memories of the terrible defeats suffered by the traditional labor movement in this country. The German workers will have to acquire new experiences in struggle before overcoming the profound skepticism toward their socialist future so widespread in their ranks today.

A USEFUL FILM

Nevertheless **Berlin Ballad** is an extremely useful social satire for the cause of labor. Hundreds of films are released every year by the huge studios of that "factory of dreams," Hollywood, to imbue the mass of spectators with respect for the authorities, the final victory of morality, the equality of opportunity under the capitalist regime and the marvelous life of ease which every working man (and every pretty secretary) will receive in the end as a reward for his or her efforts.

Berlin Ballad will teach hundreds of thousands of men and women that the dreams of Hollywood are nothing but cheap lies and illusions. It shows the brutality and bestiality of the authorities, the abject hypocrisy of official morality, the ever-increasing inequality of social conditions, the ease and luxury reserved for the rich side by side with human beings dying of hunger. This is the starting point for a socialist education, and that is why one hopes that the new German studios will give us some more films of the same quality.

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Happy Over the Pact

Union bureaucrats and corporation officials express their delight over the new GM contract with a four-way handshake. L. to r.: UAW President Walter Reuther, UAW official T. A. Johnstone, GM industrial relations director Harry W. Anderson, and his associate, Louis G. Seaton.

Poor Conditions Unchanged in GM

DETROIT — The new contract signed by Walter Reuther and General Motors officials is different from the old agreement in only one respect. The new contract is meant to harness the GM worker to his job without improvement of working conditions for another five years. The old agreement was for only two years.

Although the capitalist press reported 30 changes in the new contract, not one of these changes strengthens the union's position in bargaining with management. One weasel word has been replaced with another weasel word. Here and there a sentence or a word has been dropped. In other places a word or a sentence has been added. In short, it is the same old contract with only a slightly different "look."

The "modified" union shop, which the **Detroit Free Press** says "is the most important among 30 non-economic concessions," is a good yardstick with which to measure all other non-economic concessions. This "modified" union shop clause underlines the weak position of the union throughout the agreement. To attach the words "union shop" to it is to exaggerate the meaning of the clause.

MEANING OF CLAUSE

The clause says that "no worker now employed by the corporation who is not now a member of the union shall be required to join the union." Only those workers hired after May 29, 1950 shall be required to join the union within 90 days from the day they are hired and must remain members of the union for at least one year; but at the end of one year they may withdraw from the UAW if they so desire.

Since May 29, 1950, represents the high point of employment in the entire history of GM, the number of workers hired in the next year and retained for more than 90 days will be very small. However there are now tens of thousands of workers in GM who are not members of the UAW. This modified union shop clause does not require that these workers join the union.

Not one word or clause has been added in this five year contract to improve the working conditions in General Motors. In the past, the GM workers at least could look forward to the end of the agreement within a reasonable time, when they could demand a new and better contract. With the signing of this new agreement, they face a disheartening stretch of five long years with no opportunity by contractual right to alter and improve their conditions.

CIO Packinghouse Head Submits To Murray at UPWA Convention

By Vincent Dunne

MINNEAPOLIS, May 28—**The CIO United Packinghouse Workers of America today concluded its Seventh Constitutional Convention at the Nicollet Hotel here after a four-day gathering. Five hundred delegates, representing 200,000 workers in the U. S. and Canada, adopted a militant program for contract negotiations.**

Central in these demands is one for 40 hours pay for a 30-hour week with a $50 per week guarantee. Among other demands are elimination of the incentive system; a 15-minute rest period after every work period of 2½ hours, at full pay for rest; two weeks vacation after one year's service; three weeks vacation after 10 years' service; four weeks vacation after 15 years service. In addition, there was a demand for a company-financed pension plan; improved sick benefits; time and a half for Saturday work and double time for Sunday work.

The former officers and Executive Board members were re-elected to office with two exceptions — Frank Ellis, leader of the great Hormel packinghouse strike in Austin, Minnesota in 1933 and one of the founders of the UPWA, formerly an International Vice-President, declined nomination because of failing health. A. T. Stephens of Sioux City, acting organization director, replaced Ellis. Ralph Baker, former director of District 4, was replaced by Kermit Fry.

MURRAY'S SPEECH

CIO President Philip Murray made his first speech to a UPWA convention. In a snapping, snarling two-hour red-baiting effort, he took over the convention — lock, stock and barrel! President Ralph Helstein, the lawyer-leader of the Packinghouse Workers, proved to be a toy in his hands. Helstein had opened the sessions with a carefully-prepared speech, designed to fool even his own machine. His "followers," comprising 60% of the delegates, and his "opponents," the other 40%, were equally astonished at what occurred.

Murray, after tearing Helstein's speech to shreds, turned to him and showered him with praise, saying that he has always been a good CIO policy man. Murray told the convention that Ralph Helstein had assured him years ago that he was loyal to him and that Helstein had demonstrated his loyalty by voting — both in the CIO Executive Board sessions and in the last CIO convention — for the exclusion of Communist Party members from leading positions in CIO unions.

By this action, Murray not only nominated Helstein for a third term as president of the UPWA, he also appointed him as the Curran of the Packinghouse Workers Union. Helstein did not decline either the nomination or the appointment! Without touching a single article of the UPWA President's conventional attire, Murray held Helstein up before the delegates, stripped of every shred of cover.

HELSTEIN FOLDS UP

Even before Murray's speech, the Helstein apparatus had scrapped its convention strategy of opposition to Murray's supporters in the union. They had proposed and planned to unseat the big South St. Paul Swift Local 167. This local had been the main base of the Helstein opponents and is influenced heavily by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. The Helstein Credentials Committee seated the Local 167 delegation with its 23 votes. Toward the end of the deliberations, this delegation read a statement to the convention, pledging loyal support to the Helstein leadership.

Confident that Helstein would move more effectively to carry out "CIO policy," Murray slapped down his own loyal supporters and ordered them to line up behind the new "leader." The convention proceedings do not record a protest from the former anti-Helsteinites. The fact that the Executive Committee and all officers were chosen without opposition tells the story.

THE STALINISTS

The Stalinist delegates, largely from the Chicago section of the union — vocal or able or both — were caught up in the flood tide of inner union doublecrossing and gerrymandering. They must have felt at home in a certain tragic, half-humorous way. For four full days, they were treated to the same, brutal bureaucratic slugging that they had so often dished out in the past when they controlled the union.

A resolution pledging the UPWA to all-out support of the CIO line barring Communist-controlled organizations was passed over Stalinist protest by an overwhelming vote. The resolution was submitted by the Canadian delegation.

One of the gratifying aspects of the convention was that it forced the public places in the Minneapolis "loop" — hotels, restaurants, bars — to abandon, at least for four days, their regular Jim Crow policy.

PITTSBURGH BRANCH FIRST TO FILL QUOTA IN MILITANT FUND CAMPAIGN

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

A total of $3,515 has been contributed through May 30 by readers and friends of The Militant and Socialist Workers Party branches in the campaign to raise a $10,000 fund to help put out America's leading socialist weekly. This is 35% of the national quota. We slipped a little during the week and are now 15% behind schedule.

Our hats are off to **Pittsburgh** branch—the first to achieve its goal in the Militant Fund Campaign. A $75 payment sped them over the finish line with 100% of their $150 quota.

Flint branch is nearing the finish at top speed. Only 13% more to go.

Lynn branch shook the mud off its heels and shot into third place with 60%.

St. Paul and **Minneapolis** both sent in good payments this week making sure to keep the Twin Cities ahead of schedule in the campaign.

A $244 payment from **New York Local** boosted their percentage to 56.

The **Newark** branch with 54% and **West Virginia** with 52% are both ahead of schedule.

Four of the other branches are not too far behind—**Toledo, Boston, Connecticut, Chicago.** These branches are in the 40-50% category. With a little extra push they can easily put themselves on schedule by next week, which means they will have to reach 58%.

Comrade Dennis of **Boston** reported that $5 was contributed by **J. G.,** "a friend of the Boston Branch," to help boost their percentage to 43.

Philadelphia sent in $30 making a total of $100 paid. "We are moving slowly," writes **Comrade Alma,** "but I'm sure we'll make that deadline."

St. Louis vacated the zero column, jumping to 30½. **Comrade Oscar** says, "More fund money will be forwarded very shortly as we want the recording by the Militant Chorus." The first ten branches fulfilling their quotas will receive this recording as a bonus. The record contains four revolutionary songs—Whirlwinds of Danger, The Locomotive, To Labor, and May Day Song.

Comrade Dan writes for the **Seattle** comrades: "Here is the first $15 on our Militant Fund quota. The whole amount of $400 has been pledged and we are sure the comrades will all be paid up IN FULL AND ON TIME."

A total of $26 was contributed by friends of **The Militant** this week, making the "General" total $121. **A. C. B.** of **Courtland, Calif.,** sent in $1, a **New York** friend $5, and **C.** of **New York** $20.

Our heartfelt thanks to these friends for their contributions to the Militant Fund.

MILITANT FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Pittsburgh	$ 150	$ 150	100
Flint	175	153	87
Lynn	50	30	60
St. Paul-Minneapolis	750	438	58
New York	2,500	1,388	56
Newark	350	190	54
West Virginia	25	13	52
Toledo	50	22	45
Boston	175	75	43
Connecticut	35	15	43
Chicago	350	140	40
Buffalo	400	134	34
Philadelphia	300	100	33
St. Louis	50	15	30
Akron	75	20	27
Oakland	100	25	25
Milwaukee	150	29	19
Los Angeles	1,300	233	18
Worcester	30	5	17
Youngstown	350	60	17
Allentown	40	5	13
San Francisco	700	69	10
Seattle	150	15	10
Cleveland	250	20	8
Detroit	800	50	6
General	695	121	17
Total through May 30	$10,000	$3,515	35

BIG MINORITY OPPOSES 5-YEAR GM CONTRACT

(Continued from Page 1)

remember that only a short while ago, he refused to authorize a strike in Chevrolet over the Crankshaft dispute.

WHAT GM WANTED

As a matter of fact, the corporation was on the offensive all through negotiations. It wanted guarantees that there would be no wildcat strikes such as took place in the Chevrolet cranks after Reuther refused to authorize a strike.

There was little difference between this and past GM delegate conferences. They are dominated from on top. After every speech or even every question, GM Director Johnstone, Livingston, Reuther or Patterson feel called upon to answer at great length and often with vituperation. Even though there was better representation this year, the conference was still loaded against the big locals.

Repeatedly, the bureaucrats attacked the Flint delegates. They claimed that if the Flint workers would spend as much time and energy trying to get rid of Rep. Blackney, a Republican congressman, as they do in fighting the UAW top officials, Congress would have a better composition. It is equally true that if the International officers would fight the corporations as hard as they try to suppress rank and file intervention on strike policy, they would not have to peddle such miserable contracts.

EXAGGERATED CLAIMS

There are a few concessions granted to the union, but they do not add up to the fantastic claims of the international leaders. The pension, it is now revealed by the corporation, will come a lot closer to **one cent an hour** than to Reuther's figure of seven cents an hour. The few additional pennies for insurance, a nickel increase for skilled workers and a tiny raise in vacation allowances are sugar-coating for a poison pill.

None of the top leaders at the conference dared to defend the contract as a great progressive innovation, the way they did in the press. They clubbed the delegates with the threat of a long strike. But they would never have been in position to use this threat if it had not been for the fiasco of their own one-at-a-time policy.

They permitted the auto corporations to fight each section of the union separately, to isolate the Ford and the Chrysler workers from the GM workers and to make the former go through prolonged strikes for meager gains. That is why the top officials could now use the threat of a long strike against the GM workers.

LEFT WING'S FUTURE

The left wing feels stronger than ever. It emerged from this conference more confident than before that it is on the right track.

In the months ahead, the intensified speed-up will become unendurable and may provoke outbursts in GM seldom seen before. Mass unemployment and layoffs will wreak havoc with Reuther's five-year plan. Out of the struggles that are bound to ensue, a new militant leadership will rise up and take its rightful place at the head of the auto union.

PEACE

Peace is not a pipe dream. A new era that will never know war stands before us. It is necessary only to end the rule of America's billionaire cliques to transform our economy from a breeder of wars to a source of limitless benefit for every one. This is the promise of socialism which is even now inspiring hundreds of millions of people throughout the world.

But socialism cannot be had without a price. The price is willingness to join in the struggle for a better world, to add your weight to the thinking minority of today who will become the majority of tomorrow that will open up the bright new epoch of enduring peace.

Do your part now by getting your friends to read **The Militant,** America's outstanding socialist weekly. Ask them to make sure they get **The Militant** regularly by taking out a subscription. Use the coupon. It's a handy way to put the hopeful message of socialism in your friends' mail box week by week throughout the year.

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THE MILITANT ARMY

The Seattle members of the Militant Army continue to meet with a favorable response on the campus, Literature Agent **Marianne Stanley** reports. Out of a bundle of 200 copies one week, 46 were sold on the campus and the balance at various union meetings and gatherings of Negro organizations.

On the following week, "we sold 41 copies of the issue featuring the student strikes and the Yugoslav situation. These sales were made by two people working for about an hour each. I imagine we could sell 100 copies a week there if we had enough people to cover the campus every day."

Marianne mentions that "we also did quite well at a meeting of a Croatian organization. Out of an attendance of 25 we sold 15."

On the waterfront "a drunk Stalinist started making slanderous remarks about the paper. Our salesgirl was quite on the ball and in the ensuing debate beat him badly. As soon as the men saw **The Militant,** attacked they flocked around the seller and 10 copies were sold in five minutes."

Winifred Nelson, Literature Agent of **St. Paul,** writes that campus sales continue to be encouraging. "Last week I sold 10 papers without effort in a short time. I figure sales on the average of one **Militant** about every four minutes. **Paul** and **Otto** again sold three in their shop. Another comrade takes five copies every week for workers in his plant.

"Laura Gray's cartoon this week on Stalin and Yugoslavia was wonderful! It said in one glance what the most well-written story could not put so succinctly."

On the University of California campus, **Oakland** members of the Militant Army sold nine copies last week, according to Literature Agent **Lillian Russell.** And 14 copies were sold at the meeting of the Warehouse union.

"At the Warehouse local we had a little competition from the Stalinists who were giving away the **People's World** free; but we were happy to see that this did not affect our sales any. It seems the more they show their dislike for **The Militant** by calling us names such as 'fascists' and 'poison press peddlers' the more the honest working class elements want to see what **The Militant** is all about and why these betrayers are so afraid of us."

Four Los Angeles comrades met with encouraging results in the Yugoslav community in San Pedro, Literature Agent **Marj Deck** reports. "In the afternoon we explored the various gathering places of the fishermen, clubs, cafes, recreation center, the docks. But since this is tuna season in the Mexico waters we did not find many men in port. Where we did find a group of even five or six though, we sold on the basis of an article on Yugoslavia.

"In the evening we covered three square blocks of the 30 making up the Yugoslav community. Going house to house we sold 21 copies before it became too dark." No outright Stalinists were met but the comrades did run into some of the Stalinist slanders against the Tito regime which they countered with the facts.

A few days later another crew of five made some more neighborhood calls. Between seven and eight o'clock in the evening 45 copies were sold.

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—For information, write P.O. Box 1342.

BOSTON — Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St., open Tues. 5:30-9:00 p.m., social last Sat. of month.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 62½ Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MAdison 3960. Every afternoon except Sun.

CHICAGO—166 W. Washington Street, Rm. 312-314. Tel. Dearborn 2-4767.

CLEVELAND — Every Sunday, 8 p.m., Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Pk., Ave.)

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6267, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m.

FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8061.

LYNN, (Mass.)—Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p.m.

MILWAUKEE—817 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone Hopkins 2-5337.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Library, bookstore.

NEW HAVEN—For information write, P.O. Box No. 1019.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave.

NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Place. Phone GR 5-8149.

HARLEM—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23. Phone MO 2-1866. Open discussion. Thurs., 8 p.m.

BROOKLYN — Mandel's Manor, 343 Pennsylvania Ave., off Sutter, meetings every Thurs. evening at 8.

CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone AL 5-2488.

YOUTH GROUP N. Y. — 130 W. 23rd St., meets Thurs. 8 p.m.

OAKLAND (Cal.) — For information, phone TEmplebar 2-8153 or TEmplebar 2-3735, or write P. Montauk, 906-B Cypress St., Oakland 7.

PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open every Friday evening.

SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m.

ST. LOUIS — "For information, phone PR 5305."

SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., R. 201, So. & Washington, Tel. Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meeting Tues., 7:30 p.m. Library, bookstore.

TOLEDO — Address inquiries to Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 1502, Toledo 3.

WORCESTER, (Mass.) — For information write P.O. Box 504, Worcester.

YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 6 p.m.

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TROTSKY

"In politics the struggle against false principles inescapably implies a struggle against those individuals who personify these principles. To regenerate the labor movement means to drive out of its ranks all those who have dishonored themselves by betrayal and treachery, all those who have undermined among the working masses their faith in revolutionary slogans, i.e., their faith in their own strength. Indulgence, sentimentality, and softness in questions of this kind are paid for at the price of the blood-interests of the proletariat. The awakening masses demand that things be said out loud, that things be called by their real names, that there be no indefinite half-tones but clear and precise demarcations in politics. . . ."

—Leon Trotsky, First 5 Years of Communist International, 1919.

LENIN

Acheson's 'Informal Report'

At the recent London gathering of the Foreign Ministers the main stress was placed not on the vast arms program which actually was the basic, if not the sole, aim of this confab, but rather on the glowing visions of a "federation" or "community" or "brotherhood" of "North Atlantic democracies" allegedly about to be born.

There were only veiled references to the incredible scope of this projected militarization at home and abroad and vaguest of all were the hints how much it would really cost and who must foot the bill.

These costs were made much more explicit by Secretary of State Acheson in his "informal report" to an "informal session" of both Houses of Congress on May 31. While still shoving to the fore the fiction of a "new federation of nations" along with the brazen lie that "this road is the road to peace," Acheson made it clear that the "leading role" and hence the major part of the costs for this "building of balanced collective forces" must "necessarily" be borne by the U.S.

"The job cannot be done unless we do our full part," he insisted. But the "task of defense is so large, its cost in labor and material resources so high, and the problem of security so indivisible, that only a combined effort will be adequate," he explained, adding reassuringly that there would be "a corresponding response from the other treaty members," if only the U.S. sets a good example.

In plain language, the material and labor costs alone are so huge for unleashing this arms race — on a "North Atlantic" scale — that even the Prussian-minded strategists in Washington dare not impose them on the American people without a promise that "others" will pay their "corresponding" share.

We may be sure that this vast arms conspiracy will not be fully disclosed at once, but portioned out in calculated doses to our people and all the other peoples involved. But when the militarists themselves gasp for breath and must prepare the ground so carefully, it is obvious that regardless of how many additional billions Congress is asked to allocate immediately, more and more of the productive apparatus at home and in the "member-treaty" countries will have to pass from civilian to war production. And each step toward a full-fledged war economy means not only material privations but one more step toward a military dictatorship.

Will the American and European peoples voluntarily place their necks in this noose of the power-drunk militarists and ultimately on the block of the atomic war? We are confident that both at home and abroad the Washington warmongers and their accomplices are in for some rude surprises once all the peoples fully grasp just where they are being dragged.

Government Interference in Unions

Government interference in union affairs has increased to a menacing point. The most recent example is Secretary of Labor Tobin's speech in Lynn, Mass., designed to influence the voting of General Electric workers in an NLRB collective bargaining election.

Tobin who is the key spokesman for the Truman administration in labor affairs, talked at a rally sponsored by the CIO International Union of Electrical Workers to win votes against the unaffiliated United Electrical Workers in an NLRB poll five days later.

There was no pretense of impartiality on Tobin's part. He attacked the UE as "Communist" and told the workers that the conflict between the IUE and UE "is not an issue of trade unionism but of basic Americanism." He made it clear that anybody who didn't vote against the UE would be branded as "un-American."

The real issue is whether American workers have the right to the union of their own choosing, to freely select their own union leaders, without pressure and intimidation from the government or any of its agents.

If the government can enter as the champion of one side in a dispute between the IUE and UE, why can't it do so in any struggle between other rival unions? Why can't it bring its tremendous weight and prestige to bear to influence and direct policies inside any union?

By campaigning for one side in this NLRB election, the Truman administration violated the principle of government neutrality established by law for the conduct of NLRB polls. What kind of "neutrality" could there be in the electrical workers election when the Secretary of Labor, a chief government spokesman, stumped for one of the contesting factions?

The CIO leaders themselves played a most reprehensible role in this affair. They invited the government to intervene. It was at their request that Tobin spoke. CIO President Philip Murray was the other principal speaker on the platform at Lynn.

These short-sighted union leaders opportunistically sought a brief advantage from this instance of government interference. But the day may come when they will rue the precedent they have helped establish. Government intervention is a two-edged sword. It can be used against the CIO as well as for it, and probably will be.

Wallace's 'Peace' Program

Henry Wallace took the occasion of Memorial Day to offer his own three-point peace program over the radio. First, he said, "organize Trygve Lie peace demonstrations" in every city. Second, send letters to Truman and Stalin "to join in making a 30% cut in armaments of all kinds, including atomic bombs." Finally, the people everywhere should form "Progressive Capitalism clubs for the purpose of saving capitalism in the U.S. by making it serve the people rather than exploit them."

It's as simple as all that. The only simpler program we are able to recall is the late Henry Ford's one-point project during World War I to visit Europe at Christmastime with a "peace ship," which received, incidentally, as much publicity at the time as did Trygve Lie's recent junket to Europe. Unlike Ford, who never did set sail, Trygve Lie managed to go over and visit Stalin and came back to say that it's too bad the master of the White House and his opposite number in the Kremlin don't get together before the cold war passes into a hot one.

Perhaps this does merit a demonstration, even in every American city. But just how would shouting "Hurrah for Lie!" even on a regular nationwide weekly schedule bring about peace?

Assuredly the Trygve Lie plank is easy enough. But it may be a bit harder to get either Truman or Stalin to cut armaments. We also can't quite understand why Wallace chose the 30% figure. Maybe there is some satisfaction in knowing that we will be evaporated with only 70% as many atomic explosives as both sides are now building. At all events, if Truman and Stalin agree to disagree, you can always issue a call for another "Trygve Lie demonstration."

But the whole trouble is that even supposing Wallace really had two bang-up planks for a "peace program" or even two hundred two, his last plank would spoil them all as quickly as a spoonful of tar spoils a barrel of honey.

Just where can one get this "progressive capitalism" that will "serve the people"? The only variety of capitalism anyone, including Wallace, has ever been able to locate is the one designed to make profits, to get these profits by squeezing labor, and to engage in war every so often just to keep alive and make bigger profits.

World Stalinism in Crisis

By Michel Pablo

Beginning with 1948, Stalinism, whose curve of growth had been ascending since the end of the war, began to show unmistakable points of weakening which can be roughly grouped under two distinct headings: setbacks, especially noticeable during election times, suffered by the Communist Parties in most capitalist countries; and "trials" and purges in the Soviet buffer countries and the CP's there.

The Yugoslav affair, breaking away a whole country and an entire Communist party from the Kremlin and the Cominform, served only to accentuate this process of weakening whose primary and deep-rooted causes, however, must be sought in the nature of Stalinism itself **under the new conditions brought about by the last war.**

Stalinism is in an obvious crisis and it is our purpose in these articles to determine its causes, its consequences and the perspectives of further evolution.

The Communist Parties by and large emerged from the war strengthened, attracting to themselves the masses who desired drastic social changes and who had lost all confidence in the traditional democratic and reformist parties (Social Democrats, "radicals," liberals). This is especially true of continental Europe, as well as of several semi-colonial and colonial countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

WHEN WAR ENDED

Even in such conservative countries as Britain, Canada, Australia and the U.S., the CP's, while remaining far weaker than the reformist formations, succeeded nevertheless in attracting to themselves important revolutionary vanguard elements and in enjoying a sympathetic climate they had never known before in those countries.

But this period of euphoria and success did not last long. Its actual duration covers the years from 1944 to 1946. There followed a period of stagnation in 1946-8, and since 1948, this has given way in its turn to a period of clear losses. It will be easier to grasp the process of decline which has taken hold of Stalinism if we consider separately three types of countries, each with a distinct set of specific factors at play, namely: the capitalist countries of Europe and America, the Soviet buffer countries, and those of Asia.

EUROPE AND AMERICA

In every election in Western Europe since 1948, and also in Australia, Canada and the United States, the Stalinist parties, beginning with the April 1948 Italian elections, have emerged either stagnating, or, as in most cases, seriously weakened and, in some instances, even literally crushed. This process of regression, despite the differences of its extent in different countries because of specific conditions, is becoming more and more pronounced. That is to say, the disaffection among the masses generally with the CP's is much greater at present than it was in 1948.

There are two basic reasons for this. The first is an **objective** one, owing to an overall improvement of economic conditions in all of the capitalist countries and especially those in Western Europe, an improvement due largely to the Marshall Plan. The second is a **subjective** one, owing to the policy followed by the Stalinist parties since the "liberation"—a **rightist** and **opportunist** policy in 1944-46, i.e., precisely at a time when the revolutionary potential of the masses, accumulated during the war, was at its height; and an **adventurist** and **sectarian** policy from 1947 to 1950, i.e., just at a time when the bourgeoisie, grown stronger, was passing to the offensive and the masses faced the task of forging the united front and undertaking planned, concentrated and coordinated actions capable of clearing the way for their passing, in turn, from the defensive to the offensive.

To the extent that the West European bourgeoisie, having profited from the unexpected support it got from the CP's at a time of its greatest weakness in 1944-46, has succeeded in restoring a relative equilibrium, resting on the super-exploitation of the masses (lulled during those same years by the Stalinist drive for "national" production); to that same extent, the policy of the CP's has tended more and more to run counter to the objective circumstances and to the actual forces at their disposal.

"3rd PERIOD" REVIVAL

This policy has tended imperceptibly—along the gravity chute of bureaucratic commands—to glide toward a revival of the notorious "third period," which we had witnessed in 1928-33, where mass actions were replaced by the permanent mobilization of the political and trade union apparatus of the CP's, with the latter looked upon as the catalyst of revolutionary energy of the working class, as the "shock troops" who would pull the entire class behind them.

This surface radicalization of the policies of the CP's reflects in reality not a corresponding mass upsurge but merely the worsening of relations between the Soviet bureaucracy and imperialism, particularly American imperialism. Since, in its efforts to bring about a deal with Washington **on the basis of dividing up the world**, the Kremlin seeks to throw in addition to the weight of the military power of the USSR and its satellites another weight, that of the mobilized working class, it therefore imposes on the workers an increasingly adventurist course. And this just at the moment when the Kremlin will either get a deal or, having blunted the weapon of mass pressure, will find itself obliged to retreat, opening up a new period of appeasement in relation to the capitalists.

BECOMING UNMASKED

Such is the logic of bureaucratism, which Stalinism represents in the workers' movement, a logic according to which a line of action, once initiated, must subsequently unfold automatically to the point of exhaustion and catastrophe. But a game of this sort, which definitely shows that the CP's adjust their policies not to suit the conditions and interests of the workers of their respective countries but exclusively to suit the needs of the Kremlin's foreign policy, becomes unmasked little by little in the consciousness of the masses. The contempt of the bureaucracy toward the critical capacity of the masses and their ability to remember is based upon the conduct of the masses which may come to the fore in periods of the precipitate retreat of the mass movement, of advanced stages of demoralization resulting from repeated defeats.

That was pretty much the situation in the labor movement in the prewar years. But that is not the period we are living through now.

CAUSE OF MISTRUST

In spite of the gains scored by the bourgeoisie in Western Europe, in the U.S. and in Latin America, the masses have nowhere suffered crushing defeats, and nowhere has the revolutionary potential, accumulated in wartime and fed by the inherent disequilibrium of capitalist society, which persists and grows more acute, been dissipated. Under these conditions, the contradictory conduct of the Stalinist bureacracy cannot pass unnoticed by the masses; on the contrary, it constitutes the profound cause of the growing disaffection of the masses with the Stalinist parties, and, above all, their mistrust of them.

This mistrust manifests itself in the lack of enthusiasm the masses show in following the actions ordered by these parties, even though masses continue to vote for these parties (in the absence of any other pole of attraction as against the capitalist political formations).

Thus, if we are to sum up the principal subjective causes for the defeats chalked up by the CP's in recent years—from Italy and England, through Austria, Germany, the Scandinavian countries and Finland, down to Australia, Canada, the U.S. and several Latin American countries—it is necessary, in our opinion, to single out the following two causes:

YUGOSLAV EFFECTS

First, the Stalinist parties are paying the price for failing in their duty as parties claiming to be revolutionary to take advantage of the favorable conjuncture for revolutionary struggle in the immediate post-war period and, afterwards, for following a course that comes more and more into conflict with the unfolding objective conditions, proving that they act as agencies of the Kremlin and not as autonomous working class organizations in each country. The position taken by the CP's in the case of Yugoslavia has greatly reinforced this impression among the masses.

(Let us add in passing, that inside the CP's themselves the Yugoslav affair acts, on the other hand, as a catalyst among the rank and file for discontent with the opportunist and bureaucratic leadership and today is the factor No. 1 in stimulating the rise of a critical tendency in these parties, reaching up to the very top apparatus. The repercussions of the Yugoslav affair have already seriously shaken the German CP, especially in Western Germany. An emergency convention of the Norwegian CP recently approved the expulsion of its former Secretary Furubotn and 22 of his "active supporters" on the charge of Titoism. In Austria, Italy, France, Greece the visible results of the Yugoslav affair do not yet appear impressive, but the ferment is there and it clears the way for the crystallization of oppositional and critical tendencies of which these parties long ago lost all recollection.)

SECOND CAUSE

The second cause is: **Impotent opportunism and bureaucratic command.** These congenital features of **Stalinist bureaucratism** have set their seal on the past and present defeats of the CP's. Naturally, a number of local causes played a part in each given country. The most striking examples in this connection are offered by Austria and especially Germany where the behavior of the Soviet Army, the treatment of prisoners-of-war in the USSR, along with the whole policy of looting, annexations and violence employed by the Kremlin against these countries, have undermined the prestige of Stalinism for an entire generation.

(The second article in this series will be printed next week.)

Third Party Proposed at Labor Zionist Convention

Formation of a third party by the AFL, CIO and liberal groups in this country was proposed at the Labor Zionist Organization of America Convention in Boston on May 28. The suggestion was included in the report of the organization's National American Affairs Committee.

TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATIONS MOVE CLOSER TO UNIFICATION IN CEYLON

COLOMBO, Ceylon, May 16 — Unification of the two Trotskyist parties here moved closer when the special conference of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, held at Piliyandala last Saturday, adopted a resolution favoring merger with the Bolshevik Samasamajist Party. The same resolution had been adopted unanimously by the BSP conference on the previous day.

The special LSSP conference had been provided for at the party's annual conference in January, which resolved that a definite decision on unification be taken after a three months period of 'Joint Councils' activity with the BSP.

The resolution presented to the conferences of the two parties by the Central Joint Council of the LSSP and BSP called for their unification under the name of the LSSP, Ceylon section of the Fourth International, and the holding of a joint membership conference within one month after the acceptance of the resolution to adopt a program and constitution and elect a central committee.

RESOLUTION DEBATED

Comrade D. Philip R. Gunawardena criticized certain sections of the report made by General Secretary Subasinghe at the LSSP conference. He asserted that the work of the Joint Councils had not progressed as satisfactorily as claimed by the secretary and criticized the resolution as one which would mean the "dissolution" of the LSSP. He then introduced an amendment whose effect, according to Comrade Subasinghe, would be to require the BSP to enter the LSSP rather than to merge the two organizations and which would result only in delaying their unification for quite a long period.

Over 25 members took part in the discussion, with Comrade N. M. Perera, chairman, speaking last. Comrade Perera said that although he had opposed the Joint Councils method at the annual conference in January, since then many of his suspicions about the BSP's sincerity in the matter of unity had been removed, and that he now wanted to withdraw some of the views he had expressed in January.

He was about to put the issue to a vote when Comrade Philip rose and said that he withdrew his amendment and resigned from the party and walked out of the conference with some of his supporters.

65 TO 12

Comrade N. M. Perera said that as long as any one opposed the withdrawal of the amendment, it could not be done as it belonged to the house and not to the mover. Accordingly the matter was put to a vote. The amendment received 13 votes for, 64 against. The resolution was then voted for and adopted by 65 to 12. (Comrade Philip's resignation, although offered, was not accepted.)

The success of the joint LSSP-BSP rallies held in various parts of Ceylon indicates that the workers who attended them by the thousands are really rejoicing at the prospects of unification, which they know would be a powerful instrument to beat the class enemy. The ruling party, the UNP, is visibly concerned too. It knows that unification of the Trotskyists will greatly enhance their revolutionary effectiveness among the toilers of Ceylon.

[Incidentally, there are 16 Trotskyists as members of Parliament here (9 from the LSSP and 7 from the BSP), and not 7 as erroneously reported in the March 20 Militant.]

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A SCOTTSBORO VICTIM TELLS HIS OWN STORY

By Albert Parker

SCOTTSBORO BOY by Haywood Patterson and Earl Conrad, Doubleday and Co., 1950, 309 pp., $3.

Haywood Patterson was one of the youthful Negro defendants in the Scottsboro case and he now tells the story of that famous struggle against the Southern Jim Crow system in his own words, as he experienced it. Conrad, a professional writer, has put it down in language that rings true on the whole. Patterson's story is supplemented with some documentary material on the case plus a timetable of its most important developments, which will be especially helpful to readers who were too young to follow the case as it unfolded.

But even for those who actively participated in the struggle in behalf of the Scottsboro boys, there will be much in this book that is both exciting and new, especially about what happened to Patterson in prison and to the case as a whole after it disappeared from the courts and the newspaper headlines.

Patterson was only 18 in 1931 when he was arrested on the phony rape charge that was denounced around the world. He was tried four times, sentenced to death three times and to 75 years in prison at the last trial. The lives of the defendants were saved only by the international mass protest movement which was initiated by the Stalinist-dominated International Labor Defense and participated in by thousands of radical, labor, Negro and liberal organizations in scores of countries. But the defense victory was not complete. One of the defendants, Andrew Wright, is still in prison on a 99-year sentence. Patterson himself remained a prisoner for 17 years — until 1948, when he finally escaped to the North where he now lives "underground," waiting for the people to "bring an end to the Scottsboro case once and for all" so that he won't have to "go back there to be tortured to death."

Exposes the Southern System

And death by torture, faster or slower, is certainly what he will get if he is ever caught and returned to Alabama "justice." For in addition to escaping and telling the story of his experiences, he has committed what the Alabama authorities will regard as the unpardonable sin of exposing their penal system in all its horror, bestiality and degradation. For its unadulterated frankness this part of Patterson's story will certainly rank with some of the best of world literature on prison life and suffering and is worth the price of the book by itself, while the story of his escape is as thrilling as any to be found in fiction.

Nevertheless, the book has one flaw that mars it seriously. The Stalinists merited credit — and they claimed and received even more than they merited — for their audacious initiative in the opening stages of the case, without which eight of the defendants would surely have been executed. But they also merit condemnation for what happened later. And that part of the story is only partly covered in this book.

The Stalinists entered the case at a time when their international policy was in a "left" phase, when Roosevelt was condemned as a "social-fascist," etc. But the line changed in 1935, when the "people's front" period of collaboration with "good" capitalists began and the Stalinists became fellow-travelers and apologists for Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. This new line affected every aspect of their activity — including the Scottsboro case — with the Stalinists attempting to "moderate" the class struggle in the interests of facilitating a pact between Stalin and Roosevelt. A new committee, the Scottsboro Defense Committee, was formed in December, 1935 and charge of the legal defense was entrusted to it (the ILD was part of this committee).

CP Took Part in the Betrayal

The new committee was controlled by people who did not believe in class struggle methods; they sought a deal with the Alabama authorities instead. In 1937 they got it — the rape charge was dropped against five of the defendants; four of these were freed; and there was a "gentleman's agreement" that the other five would be pardoned later on. In return the committee withdrew the case from the courts. As almost anyone could have foreseen, the governor of Alabama did not keep his word. Some details of this sordid story came into the open when the chairman of the Scottsboro Defense Committee publicly denounced the governor for double-crossing the defense. But the whole story has never been revealed — particularly about the role of the Stalinists in this betrayal of the Scottsboro fight.

It would be unreasonable to expect to get this part of the Scottsboro story from Haywood Patterson, who was in prison until two years ago and whose chief contact with the outside world was through the ILD and its successor, the Civil Rights Congress. But Earl Conrad knows more about it, and in fact states in the foreword that he had access to the ILD files through Stalinist William Patterson. It was his duty to throw light on this matter in the appendix (he prints 11 different items there anyhow). Instead, he covers up and apologizes for the Stalinists, without whose consent the deal could never have been consummated. It is unfortunate that an otherwise extremely honest and valuable book should have such a glaring defect.

THE MILITANT

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The NAACP Conference: I

By Jean Blake

The 1949 conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People took a far more advanced position against red-baiting and the witch-hunt than any of the national labor conventions of that year.

As we observed in The Militant at that time, the status of Negroes as the doubly-oppressed tenth of the population tends to drive them to take more advanced positions than the rest of the mass movement.

In anticipation of the problems facing the 1950 conference in Boston June 20-24, an evaluation is in order of the extent to which the organization has resisted or succumbed to the current lynch spirit against critics and opponents of American imperialism.

In Los Angeles last year the delegates passed a resolution opposing "wholeheartedly the President's loyalty program, the Mundt-Ferguson bills and their counterparts in the states such as the Ober bill in Maryland," called on the President to revoke the "loyalty" order, and pledged the full resources of the Association to aid in challenging the constitutionality of the order in the courts.

And, as though to demonstrate that the organization was not simply dealing in abstractions, James Kutcher, the legless veteran purged from his job with the Newark VA solely because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party, was granted time to address the conference.

In addition, in sharp contrast to the current trend in the labor movement, there was no internal purge or "loyalty" test atmosphere at the conference itself.

The one foot that the Truman administration, in its war against civil rights at home and national independence of peoples abroad, succeeded in getting into the NAACP was endorsement of the Marshall Plan.

On this most controversial resolution, about two-thirds of the delegates supported the position to which Walter White had already committed the organization. They approved the Marshall Plan as aid to the peoples of Europe. However, their uneasiness about the true motives of the State Department was expressed in the resolution, which also urged the government to "adopt and pursue the policy of discontinuing aid to countries receiving Marshall Plan aid when they engage in military action to suppress movements for colonial freedom."

Describing its program in the international field, the 1950 membership drive folder states: "The NAACP opposes imperialism in every form. It opposed the return of former Italian colonies to Italian rule and urged the withdrawal of Marshall Plan aid to The Netherlands in protest against the Dutch attack on Indonesia."

Events have revealed that a major purpose of the Marshall Plan has been the maintenance of imperialist oppression of colonial and semi-colonial countries in Asia and Africa. Delegates to the Boston conference should give content to their solidarity with colonial independence struggles by rescinding their conditional endorsement of the Marshall Plan and condemning the State Department's open support of colonial oppression.

The record of the past year shows that the NAACP maintained its principled position of support for civil rights for all in connection with the Peekskill riot. It also withstood the temptation to join the wretched ranks of the labor bureaucrats jumping on the State Department bandwagon and grabbing the various "subversive" lists and undemocratic procedures to rid themselves of criticism and opposition within their own organizations.

But one major crack in the NAACP's resistance to the pressure of reaction was the decision to exclude "communist-front" organizations, including some unions, from the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization in Washington.

Rationalizations such as increasing the banned list to include "other political organizations," questioning the "sincerity" of the Communist Party's desire for passage of civil rights legislation, or even pointing to the undeniable fact that they favor "civil rights for some people, but not for all" do not justify the introduction of political discrimination in an organization based on the correct premise that civil rights are indivisible.

Without giving any comfort to either the unprincipled Stalinists or the reactionaries who falsely identify the struggle for civil rights with the Communist Party, the delegates to the forthcoming convention should expressly reject the arbitrary and dangerous policy of political discrimination introduced in the civil rights mobilization this year.

The Most Hated People

By Fred Hart

U. S. imperialism may be able to buy up a lot of bankrupt regimes throughout the world, but it hasn't been able to buy any popularity. In fact, Americans abroad — at least the kind who have been throwing their weight around in the occupation forces, military and business missions — are thoroughly detested.

We gather that from an article in the May 31 N. Y. Times, by its chief foreign correspondent, C. L. Sulzberger. Although many in this country "assume that the Americans are about the most popular people in the world," says Sulzberger after a tour of Europe and Asia, "neither they nor Washington's policies can be so categorized."

This "lack of popularity," he points out, is not confined to the Soviet Union and its satellites and "is not engendered merely by Communist propaganda during the 'cold war.'" It flourishes "the world around." There are "other reasons" besides Kremlin propaganda "for the increase in dislike for the United States."

First of all, "it is considered human nature for a dependent not to like a rich relative." Especially, Sulzberger should have added, when the rich relative demands that the dependent lick his boots. Then, says Sulzberger, "Americans, convinced of the excellence of their political, social and cultural heritage" don't appreciate "how little some other peoples care for those benefits." The propaganda about the "democracy" American imperialism promises to bestow on other peoples, for instance, "is of slight significance to an illiterate Afghan craving food."

But these are only incidental reasons for U. S. unpopularity. Sulzberger gets down to the meat of the matter when he points out that "it is not historically logical that great powers with extensive foreign interest should be well liked." He points, for example, to the extreme dislike of the British during the past century when they ruled a quarter of the world.

"It is not illogical that, having inherited many of the International commercial, fiscal and strategic positions" of the British colonial enslavers, "we should also inherit some of their unpopularity," says the Times correspondent. In short, the dislike — or rather the hatred — for America and Americans is nothing but a hatred of brutal, greedy imperialism, such as made the British rulers an object of universal detestation.

And nobody loves a foreign conqueror, Sulzberger points out. In major portions of the world, "under one guise or another, Americans remain an occupying power" — Western Germany, Austria, Trieste, Okinawa and Japan. "An occupation, no matter how dressed up, cannot in its very nature be popular, regardless of surface symptoms to the contrary."

Finally, the Americans who are carrying out the U. S. imperialist missions abroad display the attitude of conquerors. Many people abroad to whom Sulzberger talked, he reports, remarked upon the "unconscious arrogance" of the Americans — and it isn't all unconscious either.

These facts, Sulzberger concludes, "may present to Americans a realization of the bitter tea served with the responsibilities of their heritage." But it's not nearly such bitter tea as the people abroad have to swallow along with their heritage of U. S. imperialism.

From the Yugoslav Press

A new decentralization decree was passed on April 14 by the Presidium of the Yugoslav National Assembly. Local ministries and boards of the six federated republics will henceforth handle agriculture, forestry, light industry, public works, trade and supply, and government purchasing in their respective areas. Last February similar measures were taken in regard to the electrical and mining industries.

At the same time "more flexible coordinating councils have been set up attached to the Federal Government," covering electricity, coal and nonmetallic minerals, power, extractive industries, agriculture, public works, building, commerce and transport. The aim is "to carry this process of decentralization and 'flexibilization' through all branches of production." (Yugoslav Newsletter, New York, May 15.)

Commenting on these far-reaching economic reforms, the Belgrade official daily **Politika** said: "We are reaching a forking of the ways, with the choice either of bureaucratic centralism, or of striking out towards a still greater development of the independence of the administrative life of each Republic, and of all other local authorities — in other words, towards unfettering all fields of productive life from the tutelage of central State administration. We choose the latter way."

* * *

On the occasion of the May Day celebration in the USSR, the Kremlin included high on the list of its official slogans one addressed to the Yugoslav peoples, saluting them cynically for allegedly "conducting a liberationist struggle against the fascist regime of the Tito clique, against the lackeys of imperialism."

The May 1 issue of the Belgrade **Borba** took note of this "honor" in a leading article entitled "A Reply to the 'Salute' of Hypocrites." And in this connection made another sensational disclosure of how Stalin and his colleagues had sabotaged the partisan struggle in Yugoslavia in its most critical early stages.

Toward the end of October 1943, the official list of slogans for the then scheduled Nov. 7 anniversary of the Russian revolution appeared without any mention whatever of the Yugoslav struggle. On Oct. 30 of that year Tito personally sent an urgent telegram to Moscow protesting that this glaring omission "not only will not benefit our struggle but renders it a disservice." He pleaded:

"Isn't it possible to correct this omission? Please send me urgent explanations on this score. I also request permission to make public an appropriate slogan in this connection."

The reply from the Kremlin came a week later, on the very eve of the scheduled celebration. Here it is:

"During the entire duration of the war, the November proclamations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR carried none but general slogans addressed to the Slavic peoples, and in no instance have concrete slogans been addressed to Yugoslavia. This year we have proceeded in the same manner. . . .

"Naturally, because the slogans have already been published, it is absolutely useless to introduce any changes whatever or to give you permission to publish a corresponding slogan in Yugoslavia. Please explain this to the comrades and dissipate an irritation which is unfounded."

Borba's concluding comment is: "The whole point is that we are a small people and it did not (then) enter into the political calculations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to show demonstrably a public approbation of our struggle. Today, these interests have changed and the Yugoslav peoples have suddenly become worthy of a special salute."

* * *

The **Yugoslav Bulletin** published by Tanjug in London reports, May 26, that thousands of youth are expected to come this summer to help on the Yugoslav youth work projects. "Over two thousand young people, workers, students and others from Norway, Switzerland, the U. S. and Germany have expressed their wish to take part." One of the largest volunteer youth brigades is expected from France, where 700 have already filed their applications.

Lesinski's Death Upsets Trumanite Labor Leaders

The sudden death of Representative John Lesinski, Michigan Democrat who headed the House Education and Labor Committee, is regarded by the top union leaders as a "serious blow" to labor. In their eyes, Lesinski was "friendly," while his successor as committee chairman, Graham A. Barden of North Carolina, is considered "unfriendly."

In fact, according to these union leaders, the death of Lesinski may tip the balance against repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law, at least so far as the House Labor Committee is concerned. It is this committee which introduces labor legislation into the House and it has great power to expedite or hamper bills that labor wants.

During the present Congress, the Committee was considered "friendly" to labor by the narrow margin of 13 to 12. Unless the Representative who fills in Lesinski's vacancy turns out to be a "friend," the balance will be reversed, also by one vote. But even if it isn't reversed, an "unfriendly" committee chairman can kill a bill through various parliamentary maneuvers, such as turning it over to a sub-committee which he appoints.

ABSURD POSITION

But consider the ridiculous position labor is put into when its fate is presumed to rest upon such an accidental factor as the death of a single member of a Congressional committee. Here is organized labor, nearly 16 million strong, potentially the most powerful force in the land, stymied because an allegedly "friendly" Congressman has been replaced by an "unfriendly" one on a House committee.

Is that why the Taft-Hartley Act won't be repealed? If so, how did it happen that while Lesinski was alive, the Democratic-controlled House rejected repeal?

What's wrong is not that this or that Congressman is "friendly" or "unfriendly" to labor. It is that Congress as a whole is strictly pro-capitalist and that the Democratic Party is a capitalist party. And so long as capitalist parties are in command of the government, labor will always get the dirty end of the stick.

If the union leaders stopped playing penny-ante politics with the capitalist parties and concentrated instead on building labor's own party and fighting for control of Congress, labor would not be in the miserable position of resting its fate on some two-bit Democratic politician or an accidental change in the composition of some House committee.

Cops Against Pickets

Riding roughshod into a picket line organized by the American Jewish Labor Council, New York cops seek to smash a demonstration outside Town Hall where Common Cause, an anti-Communist organization, was running a "Hold Berlin" meeting featuring Gen. Lucius Clay. A number of the 1,500 pickets were hurt.

MOUNTAIN SPRING CAMP OPENS SECOND SEASON FOR VACATION GUESTS

Mountain Spring Camp, near Washington, N. J., announces that its second season will open on Saturday, June 10. The camp, which is situated in the foothills of the Focono Mountains, 1200 feet above sea level, consists of 83 acres of woodland, meadows and rolling hillsides, watered by a stream.

The camp itself has been considerably improved since last year. The swimming pond has been dredged out by bulldozer and this will assure good swimming throughout the summer. Also, a fine park has been cleared in the orchard opposite the main house. Picnic tables and benches and a huge stone fireplace have been put up under the apple trees, providing a shaded area for relaxing in the day time and an ideal spot for wienie roasts at night.

Besides these additions, Mountain Spring Camp offers the weary vacationer accommodations in tent-cabins which are securely screened against insects as well as being airy and cool at night. An addition to these cabins are the well-designed, substantial bedside stands containing shelves for clothing. Dormitories equipped for 28 people are in a wooden and stone building which has also been renovated with insulating paint to provide further protection against summer heat.

GOOD ACCOMMODATIONS

The large mess hall, which was opened last summer, is situated on top of a hill commanding a beautiful view of the surrounding contryside. This dining room easily accommodates 96 people at one sitting and during the past season often had as many as 125 for Sunday dinner.

Playing areas include a baseball field, volley ball court, the swimming pond, which is 60 by 180 feet, and there are many paths through the woods for those who like to walk. The house contains an extensive library and plenty of easy chairs on porches where guests may read in comfort.

The recreation program includes sound movies, shown out of doors, campfires, lectures and discussions on current events under the supervision of a recreational and educational director.

Pre-season visitors to the camp have been most enthusiastic about the delicious meals served at moderate prices. The camp kitchen contains the most modern equipment for preparing food. It includes a large walk-in refrigerator and a deep freeze unit which assures the food being fresh at all times.

The management strongly urges that workers planning their vacations make their reservations as early as possible. Otherwise, they cannot promise that a tent-cabin will be available, since these accommodations are very popular. Send reservations and requests for information to: Mountain Spring Camp, RD #1, Washington, New Jersey.

OLD PARTIES ARE STILL PASSING BUCK ON FEPC

(Continued from Page 1)

N.Y. Times, that if the compulsory bill he advocates is passed somehow, he will not administer it in such a way as to "deprive" any Jim Crow employer of "the right to run his own business . . . as he thought best."

MORE CRITICAL TONE

Truman is certainly a slick politician but the people are beginning to catch on to his tricks. Even some of his Negro supporters now have to use a critical tone toward his party and administration. (If they didn't they would lose their following.)

In a letter to the Democrats, Roy Wilkins pointed out that "the fact that 21 votes from states outside the South were either cast against closure or were absent (12 of these being Democrats) makes it difficult to place the blame for the poor showing of the Democrats on the Deep South members."

Earlier, on May 19, a joint statement by Wilkins and A. Philip Randolph, noted: "For too long the Dixiecrats alone have been blamed for strangling civil rights legislation in the Senate. Today's vote shows that both major parties are playing hide and seek with FEPC... It is time for both parties to stop using the Dixiecrats as a cloak for their own irresponsibility or their own insincerity on civil rights issues."

These are truths that the Socialist Workers Party has been pointing out all along as reasons why labor and the Negro people should break with the capitalist parties and form a Labor Party for the purpose of taking power and enacting the legislation that the masses want and need.

But the Negro leaders, while admitting some of the facts about the capitalist parties (and while covering up some of the other facts), still refuse to draw the necessary conclusions from the FEPC experience.

WHITE'S PROPOSAL

Walter White, who returned to his post as NAACP secretary this week, made a speech at a New York rally on May 20 at which he called for an "organized, uncompromising and determined campaign in 1950 and 1952 for defeat of all members of Congress, irrespective of party, who have not done their utmost for civil rights legislation." (May 27 **Pittsburgh Courier**, N.Y. edition.)

The advice is correct as far as it goes, but it doesn't go far enough. It's not enough to vote AGAINST someone or something; you've also got to vote FOR someone or something. What is the good in replacing Democrats with Republicans or Republicans with Democrats when BOTH of them are enemies of the civil rights cause?

Yet that is all White's advice amounts to, and all it will lead to is another betrayal in Congress next year. The job that has to be done is to defeat all capitalist politicians and to replace them with representatives of the labor and Negro movements united in a Labor Party. Otherwise, fighters for civil rights will get the same kind of rooking from Congress and the White House in 1951 and 1953 that they got this year.

J. P. Morgan and Co., Modern Midas Outfit

"Thirty-two of the directors of J. P. Morgan and Company serve as directors and officers of 40 railroads and industrial companies with assets of more than 17 billion dollars and 23 great banks and insurance companies with assets of more than 8 billion simoleons.

"The 'House of Morgan' has directors on the boards of such giant corporations as General Motors, General Electric, United States Steel, duPont, Consolidated Edison, Kennecott Copper and Phelps Dodge. The men of this modern Midas outfit also sit on the boards of other giant enterprises such as American Airlines, Continental Oil, Continental Gas, B. F. Goodrich, Johns Mansville, Monsanto Chemical, Standard Brands, Pullman and a host of other corporations whose one purpose is to create monopoly and to earn more profits for the Morgan interests with as little consideration as possible for the human hands which produce this giant wealth." — From the May 15 issue of **Friendly Chat**, a letter of the AFL Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen officials.

Violence Erupts In Toledo CIO Internal Fight

TOLEDO, May 27 — Violence flared in the inter-union fight in the UAW in this area last week as both sides exerted strenuous efforts to win support among the 25,000 members in UAW Local 12. Two leaders of the opposition to the administration, Carl (Shorty) Schick, chairman of the Spicer Unit, and Harold Billheimer, chairman of the Toledo Scale Unit, were beaten outside of the CIO Industrial Union Council building Monday evening as they were about to go inside to attend the monthly meeting of the council.

Each of them was reportedly accosted separately in the parking lot by UAW-PAC Ohio State Director Orville Beemer, an administration leader. Schick was severely injured, suffering a broken nose and requiring hospital treatment. Billheimer, who was the first victim, was knocked down a few times. Beemer is out on bail charged with assault and battery.

Other opposition leaders who planned to attend the meeting were intercepted by their own followers who sent them away fearing they would be assaulted too. The meeting voted to dissociate the council from a statement previously issued by President Richard Lazette denouncing the Gosser-led forces and demanding intervention by UAW President Reuther and CIO President Philip Murray. Lazette was not able to attend the meeting because of a heart condition and has been hospitalized for the past several days.

CHARGE WHITEWASH

Leaders of the opposition charged that UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey, who heads a committee that is investigating conditions in Local 12 on behalf of the International Executive Board, had permitted two administration leaders to occupy a room adjoining his in a hotel last Friday when he met with 30 opposition leaders.

The opposition leaders, Edward Duck, former assistant director of the Auto-Lite division, and Harold Billheimer charged Mazey with violating a trust by permitting the administration people to listen in on their meeting.

Duck and Billheimer also charged the Mazey committee with preparing a whitewash of the administration. After a visit to Walter Reuther they announced that he had promised to meet with opposition representatives when the GM negotiations were finished. However, a spokesman for Reuther denied such a meeting was promised. At a press conference in Detroit, Reuther is quoted as leaving the entire matter in the hands of the Mazey committee. Since the opposition forces have no confidence in this committee, it would seem that efforts to obtain help from the top leaders of the international are doomed to failure.

The opponents of the administration, most of whom recently split openly with it, have organized themselves and elected officers for their group. They claim the support of at least five units of Local 12 with a membership of over 6,000.

Carrying the fight into the units, they plan to put the issues to the membership at specially called meetings. 650 members of the Toledo Scale Unit voted almost unanimously to support the opposition and to levy an assessment to finance the fight.

The Champion Spark Plug leaders announced they would conduct fund-raising in the shop. The funds will also be used to finance 11 girl office workers who have been out on strike against Local 12. The girls and Financial Secretary Randolph Gray have refused to resume their duties unless the administration is removed.

The largest local union in the UAW, Ford 600, entered the dispute this week when its president, Carl Stellato, announced the Executive Board had voted to invite speakers from both sides to address the membership.

LABOR ENEMIES HELPED

The widespread character and sharpness of this struggle have given the capitalist press a field day here and in Detroit. The beatings of the union leaders have provided them with an opportunity to smear the entire labor movement. The method of settling disputes by violence can only help the enemies of labor.

Even though one of his followers is accused of starting the violence, Richard Gosser, UAW-CIO Vice-President and leader of the right wing, has denounced this practise and asked his other followers to remain at home, if they cannot control themselves. It is to be hoped that his advice will be taken to heart as Toledo is beginning to look like a battleground with prominent union leaders going around with bodyguards armed to the teeth.

PROGRAM NEEDED

The opposition has not yet come up with a program of a positive nature to place before the membership. It will have to do so in order to gain supporters. The revolt of the large section of the membership against the administration is fundamentally a revolt against the blind alley in which the labor leaders have marched the union movement. Such an upsurge of rebellion against the leadership would be inconceivable if the CIO was showing the way to higher wages, better shop conditions, a solution to the problem of unemployment and independent political action.

It is precisely because the present leaders of labor have failed to find the right answers to these pressing problems that such sharp and widespread opposition movements arise. But opposition forces will just be churning up the waters aimlessly unless they find their way to a program that fits the needs of the workers today.

CIO WINS NARROW MAJORITY IN GENERAL ELECTRIC VOTE

(Continued from Page 1)

corporations in the industry, the GE and Westinghouse votes constitute a relatively poor showing. Although the CIO had all the advantages in the fight, particularly the inclination of the workers to remain in the CIO as the mainstream of the industrial union movement, the policies of the CIO leadership in the campaign turned many workers against the CIO.

MANY REPELLED

The CIO leaders thought they could clean up on the UE with nothing more than the yell of "Commie!" and all-out red-baiting. It is significant, however, that a large percentage of workers rejected the red-baiting appeal and were repelled by it. What they wanted, and what the CIO leaders failed to offer them, was a real program to improve their conditions.

More than 42% of the workers in the GE elections voted to stay out of the CIO and remain in the UE, despite the UE leadership's bad record. In two of GE's three largest plants, at Schenectady, N.Y., and Erie, Pa., the UE got considerable majorities. In the other big plant, at Lynn, Mass., the IUE won by 7,847 votes to 6,358. Secretary of Labor Tobin was sent to Lynn a few days before the election to speak at an IUE rally and urge the workers to vote against the UE. The UE is contesting the Lynn election on the grounds of the government's interference.

The outcome of the GE and Westinghouse elections makes it certain that the inter-union fight will continue in the next period and that the electrical workers will remain split apart. The UE will continue as a sizable force in the industry, at least for a time yet. The CIO has lost a certain amount of prestige because of its failure to win a conclusive victory and will have to continue its costly efforts to take full control of the field.

A LESSON TO LEARN

The CIO leadership entered the fight with numbers, financial resources and prestige on its side. It was openly supported by the Truman administration. Its opponents are an unpopular and harassed minority with a record of treachery. Yet the CIO came close to losing out.

There is a lesson in this, if the CIO leaders would but learn it. Red-baiting goes only so far as a program. In the end, it takes a militant program to better wages and working conditions to win and hold the workers.